/44 cont./

*101 Koch makes the similarity of this idiom with the first two stand out immediately. In August of 1956 a tuxáua /chief/ of the Ide-masã or Makuna informed us that the Buhágana formerly resided in the forests of the river Taraira (trib. of the Japurá), but they had already died out as a consequence of the avengements within the tribe and the fights with other tribes.

It is not improbable that the Jacamim, located by Wallace on the Uaupés, are only a tribal subdivision, perhaps the Taitõ-paramẽra, that is "Grandchildren of the Jacamim" (cf. below the subdivisions of the Korẽterabõa, IV -- 2, p /p. 106 f./).

(7) -- MACUNÁ -- It likewise does not appear in the other lists. Pelo Rio Mar gives a brief report: "Macú of black color" and ends by saying "they are mentioned among the tributaries of the Rio Negro, on the Araganatuba, Apapóris and Jupurá." On the contrary, according to Koch G., they belong to the Tukano group and have their present habitat on the banks of the Apapóris, below the Pirá-paraná, in two malocas. They are types of good configuration, Koch continues, and they speak a language quite close to the Buhágana (Zwei Jahre, 379; and Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6).

We can state that Makúna is a denomination that the Colombians give to them. In their own idiom they call themselves Idemasã (water people) and we were with a group of them that resides on the Komé-ya (see below Ide-masã, IV -- 2, h /p. 137/).

[114] [126] Koch does not give in his Zwei Jahre the Vocabulary of the Makúna, but that of the Kueretu. Now, the Vocabulary that we gathered from the Íde-masã deviates considerably from the one that Koch obtained from the Kueretu, in spite of the fact that this group is indicated as a subdivision of the Íde-masã.

/65 cont./

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/footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryaña language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapúya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

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also the language of the Tukano tribe.

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Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

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Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

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2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

4: Silva--117 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/80 cont./

*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

197 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms,
• 126 we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical."

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

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21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

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22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

/306 cont./

534 There are four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2)) the belief that the mĩrĩa are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahã̄ (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tȭ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arũ̄tȭ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-i'sĩ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradriídea).

[115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anȭnȭ (assarí); 2nd pair: i'tĩ̄ĩ or mẽ'nẽ-i'sĩ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusȭ (they pronounce it this

/338 cont./

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/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

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The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

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As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[755]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1)), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

796 7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compul-
535 sory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca.
[115] The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the
[126] Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

*192 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same
796 tuxáua:
535 a) seat of the old ones, bũxkṍrá duhurĩ-ko-mũ̃-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ̃-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ̃ kõ-mũ̃-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ĩ-khãra duhurĩ kõ-mũ̃rõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurĩ kõ-mũ̃rõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. *[192] "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

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[554]

The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

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When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

/393 cont./

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1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũ̃wõ̃:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã̄ (ya'sá or ĩaxsã̄):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

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Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

• [126]

128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

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[126]

1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ; 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká peri kapikwá
Nuyaká peri
Dwiká peri deyú deyú ayá
I iroyẽ.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mã-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dẽ-yá ya-yõ mari
Ikawẽ yo
Yóa mari ikawẽ yó
Yó mari ikawẽ dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yõ yõ yõ mari
Kawẽ mari i-i-i (whistle)

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions;
otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although
short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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*[192]
[171]
• [126]

> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

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/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mɛ̃-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramʃ," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamʃ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabʃ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamʃ and axkabʃ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamʃ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabʃ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamʃ or axkabʃ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: [126] [162] 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyõ of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyõ of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamʃ of D and E and axkabʃ of A and B.

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

2

A Death

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 276 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep 126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparaná – José in front.*

[see p. 46-A]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

at times we are very irritable. Donald, the most silent, is by far the most understanding, while Horacio and I with our opposite points of view tend to get across one another.

Spread out the two tarpaulins on the sand in front of the *maloca*, then all the equipment on top of them, once more throwing everything to the air and the sun. Donald and I doctored our sores. Both he and Horacio have the beginnings of boils on their arms; this could be dangerous. If our sores go septic we really shall be in a mess – we had better take some penicillin. Donald dealt with the medical kit, Horacio checked over all the food supplies. With his blue and red pinstripe shirt, a Roman nose and scruffy growth, he looked just like an Arab street vendor squatting over his wares in the *souk*. We seem short of meat and Nescafé but otherwise all right. I took out all the cameras. Some of the lenses are in poor shape and neither the electronic flash nor my Japanese one is working. Spent ages trying to repair them and reached the conclusion that the filament on the electronic had broken – probably knocked as we came over the portage. Donald discovered a dud contact on the Jap flash and after much wastage of bulbs and various electric shocks got it to work.

The heat at midday is tremendous but a swim in the river refreshed me. José and Kuarumey had gone out with our two twelve-bores and returned at noon with three *pava*. Being stationary is a blessing; we can send the Indians off hunting – they love using our guns – and so supplement our rations. Have to be careful because Nestor should soon be arriving.

p.m. I slung my hammock between two trees – the sandflies never seemed to leave me alone – and wrote up my geological notes till the sun went down. Am putting all the specimens in sample bags, and it's lucky we have them, for some of the sandstones are crumbling to pieces. Horacio measured the rice into our bright-red tins – funny to think they were once green and with me in the snow and ice of Cocuy. Donald spent the whole afternoon drawing the *maloca* – beautiful, he should have been an architect. The children love watching him, and one little boy – I think he's Kuarumey's son – kept tugging his long beard, then racing over to feel mine, completely intrigued by our hairy faces.

Spent the evening editing birdsong tapes with Uriel who gave me long descriptions of each bird; we had seen very few of them. Surrounded by many overwhelmed listeners, and one boy started to imitate some of the songs amazingly. Ate rice and stewed bird and after silica-jelling the cameras (the plastic bags seem to puncture easily) climbed into my hammock. It's now late, a woman is still rubbing manioc somewhere in the darkness: they always seem so willing to help us, but Kuarumey, no ... he's sitting beneath

LEFT: *Horacio López.* CENTRE: *Donald Tayler.* RIGHT: *Brian Moser.*

[See p. 46-B]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

6

Panpipes and Don Giovanni

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The